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Sometimes a tamhą'k (p. 98) is made to assume the duty of officially tasting sweet potatoes and gourds prior to the harvest. Thus, the Indians hope to improve their crops at the eleventh hour because the tamhą'k, especially if young and vigorous, are credited with the magical power of improving and increasing the yield. The member chosen is then decorated with the falcon down appropriate to his organization.

Storage.—According to Ribeiro the Eastern Timbira cached their food supplies from year to year in special storehouses: "... e entre tanto que cresce e sazona a plantação comem elles a coberto das invernadas os generos que do anno passado ficam reservados em paioes particulares, que cada familia guardou escondidamente para si."[160] Personally I have never seen anything deserving of the designation paiol (storage room)—except for the modern, closed attics. Tubers—sweet potatoes, yams, bitter and sweet manioc, as well as arrowroot—are left in the ground, where they keep best. Thence the Indians take just enough to supply several days' need. Gourds and beans are rarely kept for a longer period; ground nuts are stowed away in little baskets and bags of burity bast. Maize, too, is usually left in the plantation as long as possible and brought home according to demand. Finally, the residue is carried to the house in one lot, the husk-covered ears being hung in bunches below the roof so as to be protected against insects by the smoke. Another way is to fill large burity baskets and stoppered gourd vessels with the kernels, but there they usually soon fall prey to insects. Rice, when ripe, must be harvested forthwith; at first it is gathered in the plantation on a grate of poles covered by a roof, later it is gradually transferred to the village, where it is piled up in the attic in regularly stratified heaps. This process, like rice-growing itself, is derived from the Neobrazilians.

Real care is devoted only to next year's seed-corn, which is stored in firmly corded bags and gourds closed with wax, these containers being packed in baskets usually suspended high up under the roof.

Hunting

The agricultural progress of the Indians is not due to Neobrazilian example nor to the instructions of missionaries and officials of the Indian Welfare Service. It was grim necessity that drove the natives to create a new basis of subsistence. The reduction of the tribal territory to one-twentieth of its former extent; the encroachments of Neobrazilian cattle on even this residual habitat; and the use of firearms in hunting by Neobrazilians and, to some extent, also by the Indians caused such diminution of big game that hunting rapidly lost its economic significance. The younger people of today know tapirs, jaguars, or the mutum (*Mitua mitu*) at best from the narratives of their elders. The only groups preserving the normal aboriginal state in this respect are the Western Gaviões, who bar civilized individuals from their woods, and the Timbira of the Gurupy, beyond whose riparian dwellings extend vast tracts of wholly unsettled forests. All other tribes have for a long time depended primarily on vegetable fare. At festivals, as I discovered among the Krahô', the hunters often vainly exert themselves for weeks in order to secure the game flesh required for the ceremonially prescribed meat pies. During my stay with the Pųkóbye I saw no meat except that of stolen head of cattle. While spending six days among the Kre'pų'mkateye I saw no booty from the chase except for a capybara (*Hydrochoerus capibara*); and when I arrived among the Krîkatî the chief's welcome was the indignant query why I had not brought some meat.

[160] Memoria, § 11.

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In the good old days conditions were quite different. Naturally there was occasional hunger when the hunters' luck failed them,[39] but game formed the chief food supply, vegetable dishes being ancillary. If a single hunter failed, a party would encircle a bit of the steppe with fire, leaving a gap for the hunters, who would club or shoot the fugitive beasts so far as they had not yet been overcome by the smoke and heat. Nowadays both the ubiquitous livestock of the Neobrazilians and the smallness of the remaining area bar this technique.

Normally all mammals rank as edible. The steppes and *galeria* forests of the Rąmkõ'kamekra still harbor the following: four species of deer (*Mazama* sp.); the fox (*Canis brasiliensis*); agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*); paca (*Coelogenys paca*); cavy = pereá (*Cavia* sp.); two species of wild pig (*Dicotyles labiatus, D. torquatus*); two species of ant-eater (*Myrmecophaga jubata, M. tetradactyla*); four species of armadillo (*Dasypus* sp.); two species of opossum (*Didelphys* sp.); the porcupine (*Coerolabes* sp.); the skunk (*Memphitis suffocans*); steppe rats (*Muridae* ?); bats (*Chiropterus* sp.); very rarely, the coati (*Nasua* sp.); monkeys (*Cebus apella*); small hares (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*); wildcats (*Felis pardalis*); and pumas (*Felis concolor*). Though the number of these species is fairly considerable, not one of them is at all abundant enough for dependence on it as a constant source of food.

All birds are eaten except the carrion vultures (*Catharistes urubú*, Vieill.; *Carthartes aura*, Linn.); the king vulture (*Gypagus papa*, Linn.); certain *Cuculidae* (*Piaiya* sp., *Crotophaga* sp.), and species beyond consideration because of their tiny bodies, such as the *Trochilidae* and many *Pipridae*.

Most important of the birds eaten is the pampa ostrich (*Rhea macrorhyncha*, Selater). There follow the sariema (*Cariama cristata*, Linn.); such fowls as the jacú (*Penelope* sp.); the aracuã (*Ortalis guttata*, Spix), which is relatively abundant in old plantations; various inambú species (*Tinamus* sp., *Crypturus* sp.); partridges (*Rhynchotus rufescens*, Temm.); wild pigeons (*Columba* sp.; *Leptoptila* sp.); and parrots. Red araras are virtually unattainable here at present, so that the chief material for feathered decoration is lacking, for want of which the Indians in part substitute kerchiefs. Again and again they implored me to bring them arara feathers from the Apinayé, who in this respect are somewhat better off. Aquatic birds are wholly lacking, except for a species of heron (*Tigrisoma* sp.) and a waterfowl (*Aramides* sp.). Small birds are hunted only by boys, who use arrows with a knobbed tip or with a cross of little rods (pl. 16, *c*, *d*).

The Timbira do not eat tailless amphibians and look with contempt upon the Guajajára for eating at least three species. On the other hand, they neither avoid large lizards (*Iguana* sp.; *Tupinambis* sp.) nor crocodiles and nonvenomous snakes. The Rąmkõ'kamekra offered me the flesh of the sucurijú (*Eunectes murinus*), the giboya (Boa constrictor), and the caninana (*Phrynonax sulphureus*). Land tortoises (*Testudo tabulata*) and a small water tortoise (*Emys* sp.?), which is taken with hook and line, are highly prized.

Women, as noted, eat head lice, though these naturally do not rank as food or as a delicacy. The Indians said they did not know themselves why they ate them, seeing that they are tasteless. Possibly it is "by way of punishment"; that was the reason given me among the Kaingang, whom I would see picking ticks off their bodies, crushing them with their teeth, and then expectorating them. Occasionally the Canella also consume the fat, white beetle larvae found in the kernels of palm nuts—when they do not prefer using them as a hair cosmetic. However, they do

[39] Pohl, Reise, 2:200.

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Hunting methods.—Traps are remarkably rare among the Timbira. The Rąmkõ'kamekra trap doves with an elastic beam, while boys kill them with automatic bow shots set near their houses. Today men limit themselves to spring-guns when killing deer, pacas, agoutis, etc., by an automatic release; formerly they, too, employed bows and arrows. The nooses for snaring dwarf parrots have been mentioned above (pl. 17, *a*, *b*). Among the Krahõ' I saw two deadfalls of the Mundé type current among Tupí tribes.[27] Like the pyramidal bird traps of horizontal sticks occasionally made by boys, they are evidently derived from Neobrazilians.

Except for the above-mentioned surrounding drive with the aid of fire, the Indians—even when setting out in considerable parties—hunt only singly or in pairs, whether stalking the game or lying in wait at a fixed station. Like the Apinayé, the Eastern Timbira rarely hunt with their dogs, numerous as these are; since their masters do not know how to train them they are of little use in the chase. This slight utilization of the dog supports its post-Columbian derivation. However, it certainly reached the Timbira soon after the discovery, probably through intermediary tribes between them and the coast, for they do not consider the dog an item obtained from civilized people. The Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Rąmkõ'kamekra concur in the view that they obtained dogs by stealing and raising the pups of wild dogs; presumably they have in mind the Brazilian "forest dog" (*Speothos venaticus*). However, the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, and Krẽyé of Bacabal call the species cã (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]), while the Apą'nyekra, Kénkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the Põrekamekra equivalent is rop (jaguar), which corresponds to Apinayé, Northern and Southern Kayapó practice.

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Deer are most commonly hunted from a fixed station in the branches of a tree above the feeding ground of the quarry when in search of fallen blossoms or fruit. The hunter sits on a few transverse poles, waiting for his victim invariably at night. The same method is extended to pacas and agoutis.

The report of a herd of wild pigs at once sets all the hunters of the village to work. They try to sneak up from behind or, for once using their dogs, drive the pigs to bay so that they can be shot or clubbed to death. The only lance I ever saw among the Timbira I obtained from the Krĩkatí, who used it for hunting pigs; it was a simple pole pointed at one end.

[411]

Anteaters, which are easily overtaken in running, are knocked down with clubs. The Timbira are not repelled overmuch by the fantastic stench of the skunk. Even after it is roasted, it retains a disagreeable odor, despite the tenderness and fatness of the flesh, but this is expressing my personal reaction, not that of the Timbira. An armadillo caught on the steppe before it is able to escape into its burrow is killed, as noted by Snethlage, by crushing its skull with a club or any hard object. But if the beast manages to flee into its burrow, it must be dug out at the expense of much labor, which, however, no Timbira begrudges, even if he is obliged to keep digging till he himself vanishes in the pit, as I have actually witnessed. None of these Indians could bring himself to pass an armadillo burrow without probing whether the animal is inside; and if that is ascertained, the digging starts at once, commonly with nothing but a stick hastily hacked into shape.

The stalker of a pampa ostrich masks himself with a disguise of palm grass hanging downward from the forehead and neck; or the hunter approaches after quickly painting himself with black stripes, the pigment being provided by the omnipresent charcoal remaining from steppe fires. During the dry season he lies in wait in a special hut, kwęk, near the watering place of the ostriches. The sariema is easily

[27] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:67, fig. 14.

killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its reputed destruction of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake. Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema seized the buckle with its bill, swung it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize its error and let the belt alone. Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira ceremonial.

Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a sucurijú, which has the thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited *ad hoc*. First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it, and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home on his back.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra, too, as noted by Snethlage,[1] drags large game no farther than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase progressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a Rąmkõ'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry *him!* What sort of game has *he* ever shot?"

Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting. This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class. At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observation—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

In the collective hunting trips, too, the tamhą'k (p. 98) play a part, attempting to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed, they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence. If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a tamhą'k had to be the first to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

[1] Meine Kelle, 165.

1 [i.e. the sariema - - - Analyst]

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but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhą'k went there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhą'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhą'k's lips. For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhą'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhą'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kú'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imą prire kuna yamãke imą katí vakokú rųité a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

Fishing

Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance has been noted by Snethlage, too.[20] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *c*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron, mostly from North America, and are designated by the term ĩyó, derived from Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and called kalón by the Timbira, the timguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the Indians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

[20] Nordestbras. Ind., 160.

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ′makra log making
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ′kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ′k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atụ′k race, which closes the meipimrạ′k season, the women of each
529 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ′k
616 period, the mepatạmcwẹ′pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atụ′k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
604 village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ′makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ′k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ′makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ′k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõẽwi
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
616 initiation phase, that is, during the vụ′tẹ′ season. Five weeks after the beginning
881 of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ′k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ′k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ′makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ′makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ′ and atụ′k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
174 that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
171 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ′makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ′kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ′tẹ′ system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ′makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponte with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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526 home of their deceased best runner, who died on a journey a year ago; there they indulge in a brief lament. Then—lest anyone imagine they were exhausted by their bit of exercise—they once more take up their logs and run around the boulevard with them, or run an ordinary race by twos, or a relay race. Not until then do they take a bath.

535 After every major race a solo dance is indicated. Properly it devolves on one of the four čę'kate, but very often some other man who happens to feel like it assumes the rattle girdle and with it their role. In addition he has for insignia his club and a special dance staff or at least an arrow which he grasps with both hands and holds aloft in horizontal position. Usually he begins in the plaza, then trots on the radial path to a house, in front of which he spends several seconds singing and dancing, whereupon he returns to the plaza by the same path, again dances there, uses the next radial path, and continues thus till he has danced before each and every one of the thirty houses and is then as a rule completely exhausted. However, it often [533] happens that the performer merely dances from house to house along the boulevard without each time returning to the plaza. The accompanying solo songs illustrate the sharp distinction the Rąmkõ'kamekra draw between piano and forte. Snethlage mentions a solo dancer who alternately balanced his dance staff on his finger tips, his nose, or chin.[208] This is certainly not a fixed custom; I have never witnessed it.

526 147 Notwithstanding the well-nigh superhuman exertions made I have not observed any detriment to the health of the log bearers; nor does the ensuing bath prove unsalutary. On the other hand, in any race of considerable extent there are many minor foot injuries due to tree stumps and thorns.

526 201 156 183 And now we come to the feature that remains incomprehensible to the Neobrazilian and leads to his constantly ascribing ulterior motives to this Indian game: The victor and the others who have desperately exerted themselves to the bitter end receive not a word of praise, nor are the losers and outstripped runners subject to the least censure; there are neither triumphant nor disgruntled faces. The sport is an end in itself, not the means to satisfy personal or group vanity. Not a trace of jealousy or animosity is to be detected between the teams. Each participant has done his best because he likes to do so in a log race. Who turns out to be the victor or loser makes as little difference as who has eaten most at a banquet. Only the lazybones who plays truant when a race is on becomes the target of blame and mockery. [578] The term čukaká (p. 119) is considered very derogatory, especially when applied by a woman to a man.

526 224 The major log races held at the close of the annual festivals, above all at pępyé, invariably arouse the interest of the entire village. The ordinary ones create much less excitement. When men in a group return from some big hunting trip or other labor, they generally enter the village by way of a log race. If the participants are few in number, they simply chop off two tree limbs corresponding to their strength. Though such races proceed quietly and unobtrusively, the entrance into the village nevertheless always lures a number of interested spectators to the doors of their houses.

526 At one of the great races it is difficult to supervise individual achievements. To be sure, a competent class-leader will try to regulate the procedure, but it may well happen that a good runner overexerts himself at the very start or at a particularly unfavorable stage of the course so as to fall far behind, while an inferior racer manages to save his strength for the finish. With the general enthusiasm and agitation, artificially heightened by the noise, there is little scope for cold, calculating

[208] Snethlage, Nordostbras., 179.

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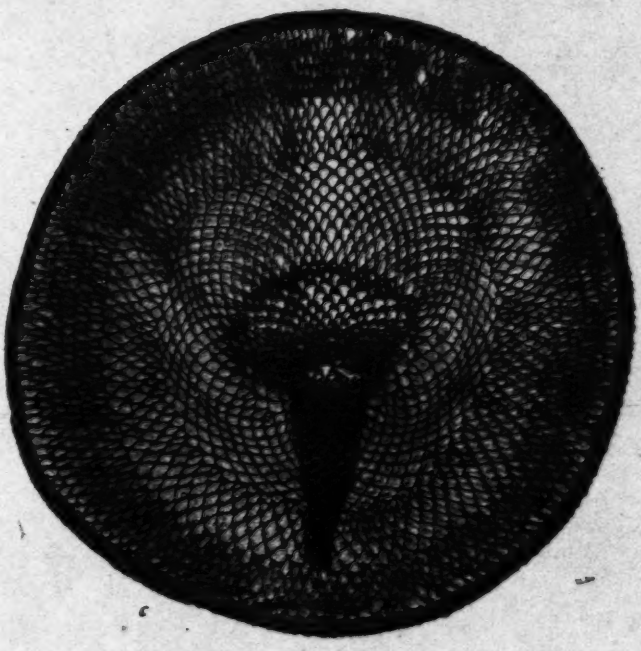

c

SNARE FOR DWARF PARROTS; SCOOP NET